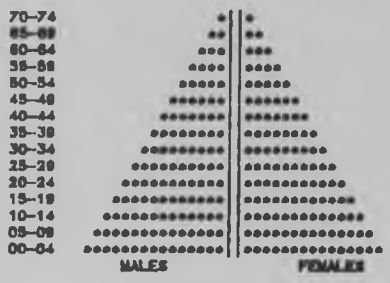


WORKING PAPERS IN DEMOGRAPHY

#1

LESOTHO DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE AND RESEARCH AGENDA

by

Israel Sembajwe

Working Paper No. 1

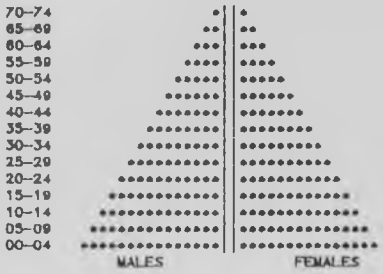
December

1984

DEMOGRAPHY UNIT

DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LESOTHO



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FOREWORD

In response to the need for multidisciplinary population studies to enable planners and policy makers to understand population factors and related socio-economic phenomena in thier entirety, the Demography Unit, Department of Statistics, National University of Lesotho, introduced a publication series entitled Working Papers in Demography. Studies on population and related issues based on available data from censuses, establishment reports and small scale surveys will be welcomed for consideration for publication from any member of the University and any Government department.

This paper, the first of our Working Papers in Demography, presents a demographic profile and research agenda for Lesotho. It brings together in a summary form, the demographic findings available up to date, highlighting thier utility for planning and policy making and identifying the gaps which future research should aim at filling. The paper proposes a list of research topics and this list is by no means exhaustive.

I. Sembajwe
Demography Unit

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

The Kingdom of Lesotho is completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. It is situated on a plateau ranging in height from about 1500 metres on the lowlands to over 3300 metres on the mountains. With an area of 30,355 sq. kms and a total population of 1.22 million people according to the 1976 population census, its density comes to at least 40 persons per sq. km.

The country is divided into ten administrative districts and these are Butha-Buthe, Leribe, Berea, Maseru, Thaba-Tseka, Mafeteng, Mohale's Hoek, Quthing, Qacha's Nek and Mokhotlong. Thaba-Tseka is the newest of all, having been created after 1976, and will not, therefore, be considered as a separate district in this analysis.

For some planning purposes the country is sometimes divided into four ecological zones or regions, and these are Lowlands, Foothills, Mountains and Senqu (Orange) River Valley. These divisions are based on topographical and agricultural characteristics.[1] Population density declines as one moves away from the more habitable lowlands to the high altitude and rugged mountain zone.

The country has enjoyed a number of population counts dating back to as far as 1875. However, the counts of 1875, 1891, 1904, 1911, 1921, 1936, 1946 and 1956 are said to have experienced a number of problems which cause serious limitations in the data available from them.[3] The following major problems are noted:-

1. earlier censuses were conducted mainly for deriving population totals and as a result other characteristics of the population were not investigated.

2. all censuses prior to 1966 were either by the "assembly" method or simply rough estimates of the population or a

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1. Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976 Population Census, Vol. IV, 1981 p. 1.1

2. Ibid, p. 1.5

3. Ibid, p. 1.5 and R.R. Kuczynski, A Demographic Survey of the British Empire, 1949, Vol. II, pp. 10-24

combination of the two and these methods result into deficient coverage.

3. with the exception of the 1956 census, earlier censuses have no documentation on the different aspects of the census operations such as methodology. Only a number of tables are published.

4. even for the 1956 census, detailed tabulations of the data were done only for the minority "non-African" group.[3]

Therefore, available detailed analysis of population data is based on the 1966 and 1976 censuses. Data from these censuses together with the 1977 Lesotho Fertility Survey and the 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey form the bulk of the discussion presented in this Demographic Profile and Research Agenda.[4] Reference will also be made to the 1967/68 Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey and the 1971/73 Lesotho Demographic Survey.[5]

This Demographic Profile and Research Agenda aims at bringing together the demographic findings available up to date in the Kingdom of Lesotho, highlighting their utility for planning and policy making, and identifying the gaps which future research should aim at filling. Thus the discussion ends with a list of possible researchable topics related to the three basic demographic variables.

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3. Kingdom of Lesotho, 1976 Population census, Vol. IV, p. 1.6

4. Kingdom of Lesotho, 1977 Fertility Survey, 1981; Kingdom of Lesotho, 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey, 1982; World Fertility Survey, The Lesotho Fertility Survey, 1977: A Summary of Findings, I.S.I., 1981

5. Kingdom of Lesotho, The Demographic Component of the Rural Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey, 1967-1968, Part 2, 1973; Kingdom of Lesotho, The 1971/73 Lesotho Demographic Survey (unpublished).

FERTILITY

Available information on fertility shows that the level of fertility in Lesotho is lower than in most African countries but similar to that in other Southern African states, such as Swaziland and Botswana.[6] The 1976 census and the 1977 Fertility Survey give 5.4 children as the level of completed fertility, and 5.7 as the total fertility rate estimated from current data, while in 1949 Kuczynski estimated the fertility rate to be 5.4 from medical records, suggesting that fertility has been constant over time.[7]

The pattern of age specific fertility rates indicates that except for Maseru Urban fertility peaks in age range 20-29 (broad peak) and reflects the early pattern of marriage (Figures 1(a) and 1(b)). For Maseru urban, the peak is concentrated in age group 25-29 reflecting a late age at marriage.

Generally, the Basotho like a large family and this is reflected in the small number of women who want to stop childbearing. Only 15 per cent of all currently married and fecund women under 50 years of age said that they did not want any more children.[8] The overall mean desired size is six children. However, women with secondary or higher education, on average wanted to have about 1 1/2 children less than those with no schooling. Boys seem to be preferred to girls. For example, among women wanting another child a boy was more likely to be preferred to a girl. About 56% of women with one boy and one girl would prefer a boy next time, compared to ony 18 per cent who wanted a girl and 25 per cent who were indifferent to the sex of the next child.

Age at marriage is early (around 19 years for female and 25 years for males) and marriage is almost universal (the population never married ranges from 69% for 15-19 age group to less than 3% for 45

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6. 1976 Population census, Vol. IV, p. 3.5
7. 1976 Population census, Vol. IV, p. 3.5; 1977 Fertility Survey, pp. 75, 91; Kuczynski, p. 58
8. The Lesotho Fertility Survey, p. 9

Figure (1a): Adjusted ASFR for Lesotho,Rural & Urban('000)

1976

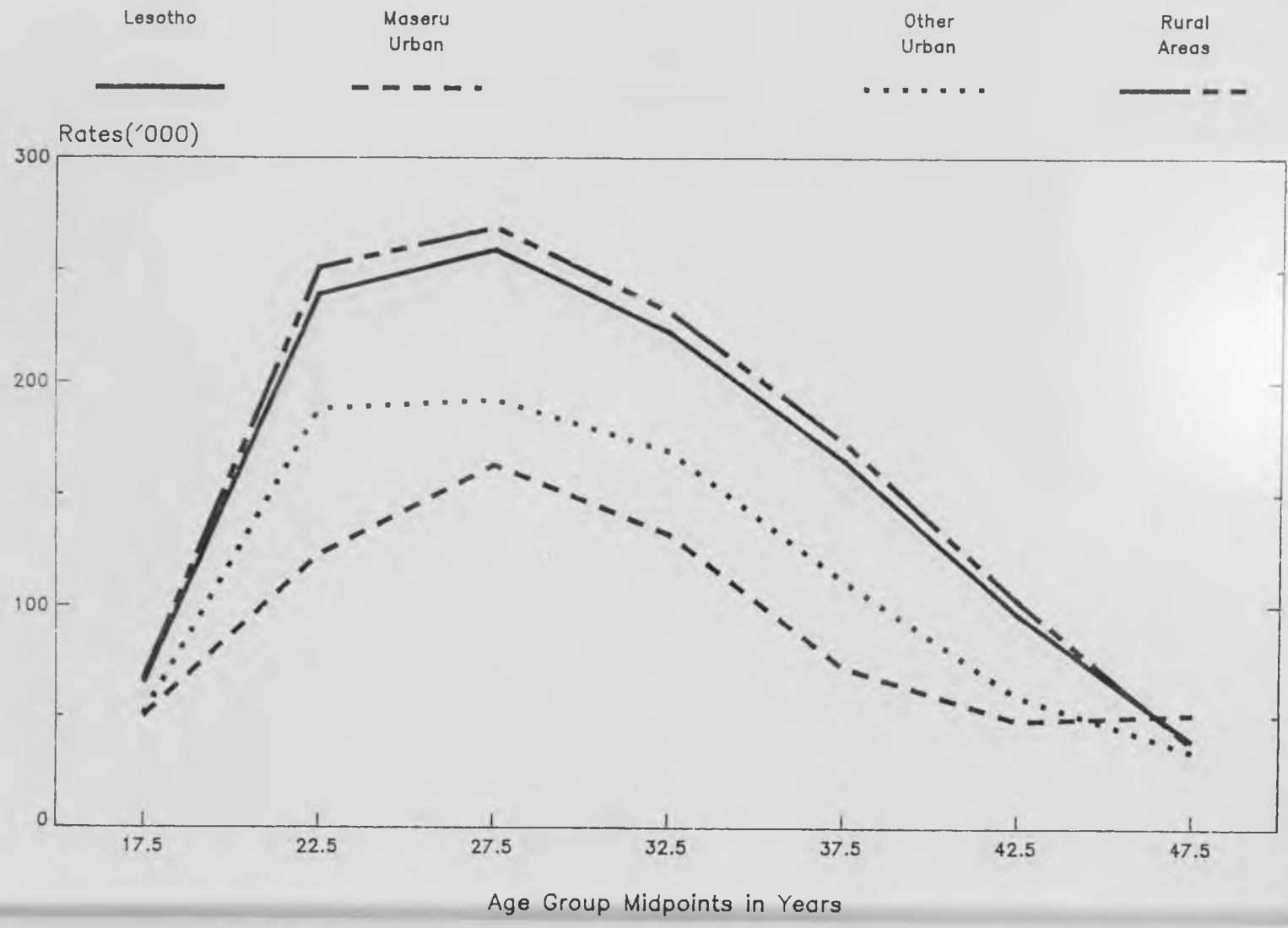
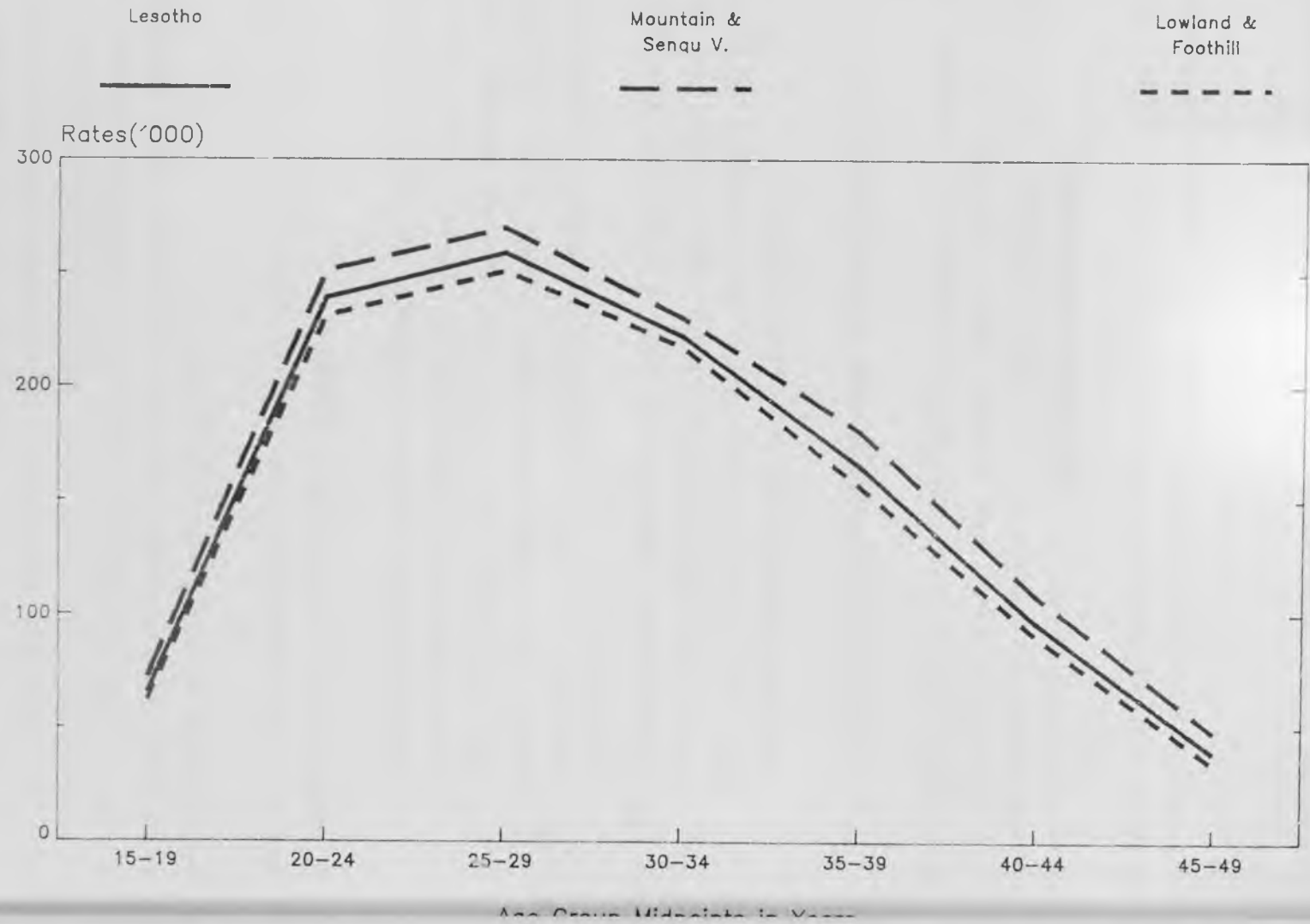


Figure (1b): Adjusted ASFRs for Lesotho & Zones('000)

1976



to 49 age group). Marriages appear to be stable and polygamy is low (only about one out of ten currently married women aged 15-49 were in polygamous marriages). The practice of contraceptives is low since only 7 per cent of ever married women were currently using a method of family planning during the 1977 Fertility Survey. Therefore these factors cannot be used to explain lower fertility in Lesotho than in many other African countries.

Some of the explanations that may be ventured for lower fertility in Lesotho than in other African countries are:-

1. Absence of males from home in Lesotho as a result of migration to the Republic of South Africa: about 22 per cent of the male population are out of the country working in South Africa (this means that women remain alone for prolonged periods).[1] About 72% of absentee males and employed for wages in 1976 were ever married.
2. Childlessness: about 10 per cent of women aged 40-44 and 45-49 did not have any child at the time of the 1976 census. This may be due to poor health and incidence of fertility impairing diseases such as venerial disease.

3. Abstinence and extended periods of breastfeeding.

Breastfeeding is universal and lasts on average for 12 months. Older women breastfeed longer than younger women. Similarly the practice of abstinence is widespread and lasts on average for 14 months. Older women tend to abstain longer than younger women.

Education and employment are the most important socio-economic factors affecting breastfeeding and abstinence. For example, breastfeeding

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1. Preliminary analysis from the Fertility Survey of 1977 indicates, however, that temporary separation of spouses owing to employment of husbands abroad does not reduce fertility. But this requires further research because the average period of absence recorded in the Survey (1.6 months) is far less than that expected from migrant workers.

was five months shorter for women with secondary education than for women with no education, and lower for women currently employed and women whose husbands were professional, sales and service workers than for women in other employment categories or whose husbands are in other employment categories.

The proportions of childless women vary from one area of residence to another. For example they are high in Maseru urban and other urban areas than in the rural areas (Table 1). This is likely to be a reflection of poor health and the prevelance of fertility reducing diseases such as venerial disease.

Table 1

Percentage of Childless Women in Age Groups 40-44, 45-49 and 50-54 by Area Residence

AGE Group	Lesotho	Mountain and Senqu Valley	Lowland and Foothill	Maseru Urban	Other Urban	Rural
40-44	10.4	10.4	10.4	23.9	16.5	9.1
45-49	10.4	11.1	10.1	19.8	16.3	9.3
50-54	12.2	16.0	12.0	21.2	18.2	12.3

Source: 1976 Population Census, Vol. IV, p. 3.11

FERTILITY DIFFERENTIALS

Some fertility differentials exist in Lesotho by area of residence, education and mother's employment status (Table 2). Mountain and Senqu Valley had higher fertility than Lowland and Foothills, while urban areas had lower fertility than rural areas in 1976. With regard to education, women who never attended school had higher fertility than those with secondary or more education. However, women who had attended standards 1-7 (primary school) had slightly higher ferti-

lity than those who never attended school. It appears that some education may have led to improved nutrition and hygiene of women who attended primary school which in turn increased their fertility. In addition, it is possible that primary education did not affect women's age at first marriage and use of contraceptives, while it may have affected practice of traditional abstinence (that is, reduced periods of abstinence).

CONCLUDING REMARK ON FERTILITY

Lesotho fertility has been constant over the last three or so decades. Although as stated earlier the level for Lesotho is low compared to other African countries, it is quite high compared to levels of fertility in countries which have gained control over their fertility. The government realizes that it is the major demographic factor leading to high rates of population growth which are not compatible with the rates of economic development. In the absence of an outright government policy related to fertility regulation, it is hoped that socio-economic development in the form of increasing education, employment opportunities, urbanization and the like, may lead to reduced fertility in the future.

Table 2

Fertility Indicators, 1976 and 1977

Population Group	Fertility Indicator	
	TFR	Mean Number of Children(women aged 45-49)
	1976[1]	
EDUCATION		
Never attended school	5.8	4.4
Passed any of standards 1-4	6.2	4.8

Table 2(cont.)

Passed any of standards 5-7	6.2	5.0
Passed standard 8 and over	3.8	3.0
Other	4.6	4.0
Mothers' Employment		
Unpaid Family Workers	6.7	5.0
Self Employed	6.4	5.0
Seeking Work	5.0	4.6
Employment for Wages	3.1	3.6
Others (housewives, students etc)	6.1	4.8
Area of Residence		
Mountain and Senqu Valley	5.8	4.6
Lowland and Foothills	5.2	4.8
Maseru Urban	3.2	3.8
Other Urban	4.0	4.0
Rural Areas	5.7	4.9

	1977[2]	
Eduation		
No Schooling	5.8	5.4
Lower Primary	6.1	5.6
Upper Primary	5.6	5.9
Secondary and Higher	4.5	4.9[a]
Religion		
Catholic	b	5.5
Anglican	b	5.0
Lesotho Evangelical Church	b	6.0
Others	b	4.9

Table 2 (cont.)

Husband's Occupation		
Never worked	b	5.5
Professional and Clerical	b	5.1
Sales and Service	b	6.6
Agricultural	b	5.3
Manual	b	5.3
Pattern of Work		
Now and Before	b	(4.3) [c]
Now not Before	b	5.1
Since and Before	b	(6.0)[c]
Since not Before	b	6.3
Before Only	b	5.7
Never Worked	b	5.5
Area of Residence		
Lowlands	5.3	5.9
Foothills	5.9	5.2
Senqu Valley	6.3	4.6
Mountains	6.0	5.6

a. For age group 35-44 (numbers for 45-49 were too small)

b. Not included in the analysis

c. Figures in parenthesis are based on fewer than 10 cases

Source: (1) 1976 Population Census: Analytical Report, Vol. IV, pp. 3.12 - 3.13

(2) 1977 Fertility Survey, pp. 98, 103.

MORTALITY

The 1976 census provided information that indicated that for the country as a whole life expectation at birth was 49.3 years for males and 52.7 years for females; the infant mortality rate was 111 per 1000 for males and 94 per 1000 for females leading to 103 per 1000 for both sexes.[9] Adjustments made after examining data on births and their survivors during the last 12 months before the census, led to a mortality rate of 113 per 1000 for both sexes. The 1977 Fertility Survey provided estimates of the infant mortality rate for the period 1970-76 of between 114 and 130 per 1000 suggesting that the rate is at least over 110 per thousand.[10]

Limited data from the 1976 census prevented the analysis of mortality by different socio-economic characteristics. The differentials in mortality that could be observed were those related to area and zone of residence. Table 3 indicates that mortality is slightly lower in Mountain and Senqu Valley than in Lowlands and Foothills. This is contrary to what is expected because the Lowlands and Foothills appear to be socio-economically better off that the Mountain and Senqu Valley making it very unlikely that health conditions can be better in the latter than in the former. Moreover the differences are so small that they can be attributed to chance fluctuations.

As expected, Maseru Urban and other urban areas have lower mortality than rural areas. This is largely due to the fact that health facilities and services are concentrated in urban areas, and people who are better educated and in high status occupation groups, and are more receptive to modern medical and health care than the rest of the population are concentrated in urban areas.

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9. 1976 Population Census, p. 3.14

10. The Lesotho Fertility Survey, p. 8.

Table 3

Estimates of Infant Mortality and Life Expectation at Birth Based on Smoothed $_1q_2$ Values using North Model Life Tables by Area of Residence and Zone

Area/Zone	Level	Males		Females	
		% per 1000	(yrs)	% per 1000	(yrs)
Mountains and Senqu Valley	14.3	109	49.8	92	53.2
Lowlands and Foothills	14.1	111	49.3	94	52.7
Maseru Urban	16.1	88	54.1	74	57.7
Other Urban	14.4	108	50.0	91	53.5
Rural	14.0	112	49.1	95	52.5
Lesotho	14.1	111	49.3	94	52.7

Source: 1976 Population Census, vol IV, p. 3.19

The 1977 Fertility Survey yielded information which indicated that in addition to zone and area of residence differences in mortality, education had a strong negative association with child moratality.[11] The less educated women had experienced a higher incidence of child loss than the better educated women. For example the estimated proportion of children who die before their second birthday varied from 20% for the children of women with no schooling to 14% for the children of women with primary education and 8% for those with secondary education (Table 4).

11. 1977 Fertility Survey, p. 130

Table 4

Probabilities of Dying Between Birth and Selected Ages - By Region and Education

	q_1	q_2	q_3	q_5
Education				
No Schooling	.2111	.2025	.2287	.2565
Lower Primary	.1369	.1481	.1695	.2024
Upper Primary	.0952	.1383	.1657	.1684
Secondary +	.0818	.0779	.1085	.1471
Region				
Lowlands	.1473	.1263	.1493	.1752
Foothills	.0953	.1463	.1567	.1726
Orange River Valley	.1202	.1490	.2095	.2249
Mountains	.1398	.1757	.1975	.2279

Source: 1977 Lesotho Fertility Survey Vol. I, p. 130.

Infant and child mortality estimates acquired from birth history data of the same survey show that mortality has been declining over time. Table 5 shows that except for minor fluctuations, mortality has been declining since 1945-49. The fluctuations may be due to underreporting resulting from forgetfulness or the reluctance to talk about dead children, especially among old women (see Figure 2).

It is therefore likely that as socio-economic conditions improve in the Kingdom of Lesotho in the form of increased education, socio-economic status and the like, mortality will decline. The government should direct more efforts towards improving the socio-economic condi-

Table 5

Number of Children Dying Under One, Two, Three, Four and Five Years of Age per 1000 Live Births by Sex and Year of Birth

From Birth to Age	Year of Birth					
	1945-49	1950-54	1955-59	1960-64	1965-69	1970 +
Males						
1	114	151	139	121	142	115
2	165	203	155	153	168	156
3	180	222	171	165	177	168
4	193	251	182	175	185	171
5	205	251	185	176	193	188
Females						
1	135	156	90	134	128	118
2	223	193	119	156	150	137
3	223	223	130	170	164	147
4	252	229	138	178	170	154
5	262	237	142	185	173	148

Source: Lesotho Fertility Survey, p. 131

tions of the people as it makes more effort to acquire equitable distribution of health facilities to all the population.

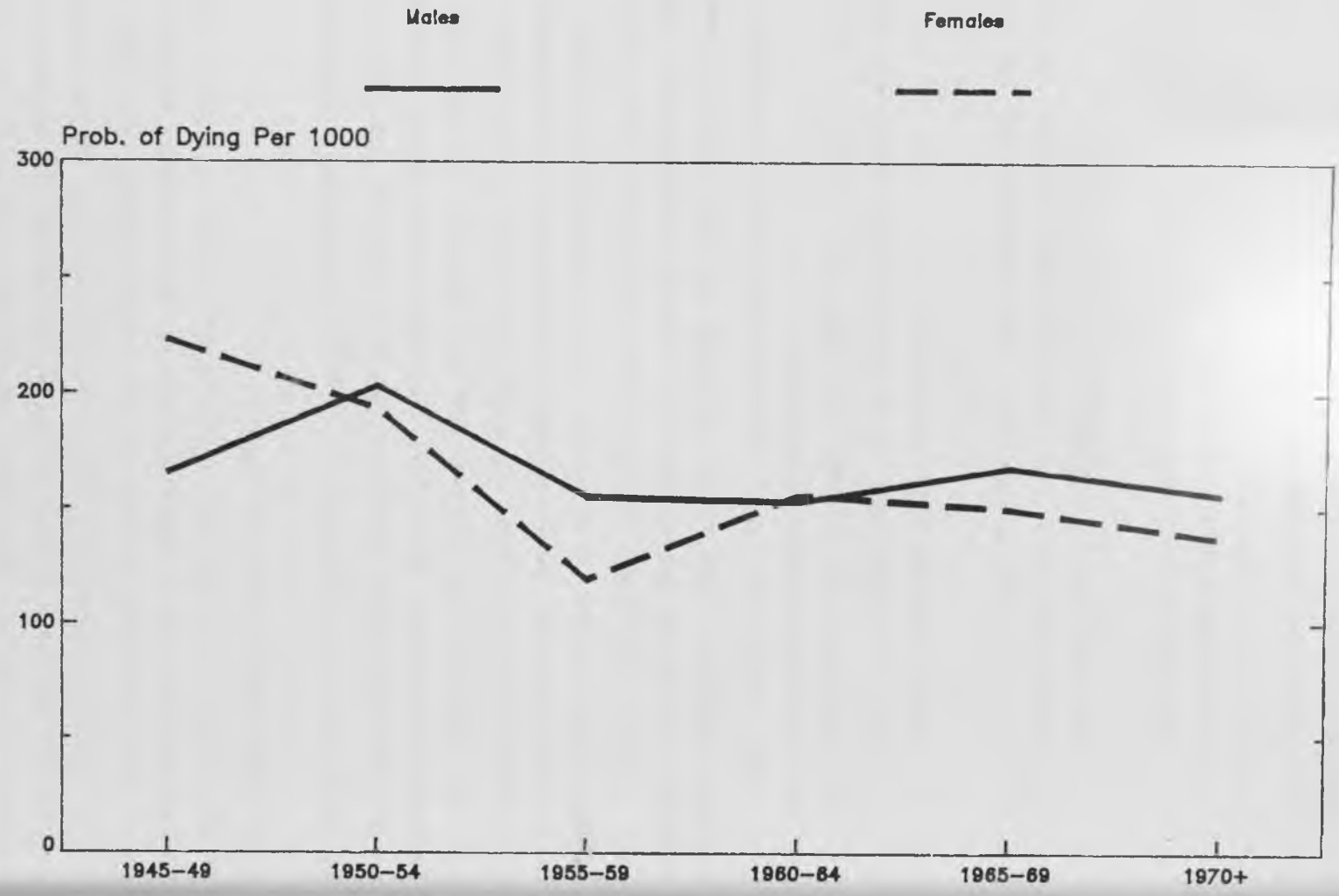
MIGRATION

International Migration

Migration of males from the Kingdom of Lesotho to work in the Republic

Figure 2: Number of Children Dying Under Two Years Per 1000

1945–1970+



of South Africa has been noted for many decades. For example Kuczynski noted in 1949 that "the severe limitation of resources in Lesotho may have tended to check its natural increase by leading to what Lorimer called the exodus of labourers."[12] In the 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey, it was further noted that the country is characterized by a heavy outflow of male migrant workers mainly to the South African Diamond, Gold and Coal mines.[13] This migrant labour has been rising since 1966.

The high rate of dependency on migratory employment (although it adds to national and family income in the short term in the form of remittances) has serious political, economic and social implications for the country, the society and the families in the long term. For example, due to absence of males from home, females have to play many roles such as being heads of households, full-time farmers and, housekeepers in addition to their role of bearing and rearing children. Possibly due to the multiple responsibilities placed on females, they are forced to participate in internal migration in search of non-farm employment than would have been the case under circumstances of a normal family unit with a present male head of household. Overall, the following problems may ensure:-

1. separation of husband and wife for periods of up to one year, and sometimes up to three years, which may primarily result into marital disruption;

2. children have no model of home life, nor of the roles of husband and wife and how they ought to treat one another, and what parents should do;

3. Deprivation of normal human relationships leads to prostitution and juvenile deliquency among other things.

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12. Kuczynski, p. 22

13. 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey, p. 1.2

In 1976 about one eighth of the total population (or 1.2 million out of 1.22 million people) were reported as absent.[14] The age sex composition of the absentees indicates that more than a fifth of the male population and more than 50% concentrated in the most productive ages (20-34 years) were absent.[15] This is a large exodus of able bodied males with serious implications to the economy, society, families and the individuals.

The 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey indicated that there were between 120,000 and 148,000 males and about 9000 females reported as currently working migrants during the three rounds of the survey. The sex ratio of these migrant workers was 1,450 or about 94% of migrants were males.[16] While the majority of males work in mines where working conditions are more hazardous than in other occupations, the females normally work either as farm hands or as domestic workers. This may be a factor contributing to higher male than female mortality.

About half and one third of migrant workers were respectively from the lowlands and foothills. Yet it is in these ecological zones that most of the agricultural activities of Lesotho are carried out. This leads to reduced agricultural production and livestock keeping. Even if the survey found that only a third of migrant males did not help on the farms during their intercontract or home visits, it can well be that the help of those who helped was available during the lax period of agricultural activities so that the help they gave had very minor effect on agricultural production.

Among the major reasons for migrating to South Africa were:[17]

1. Inability to get a job in Lesotho (given by more than 50% of those who left for their first job before 1976).

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14. Ibid, p. 5.1
15. 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey, p. 5.1
16. Ibid, p. 5.2
17. Ibid, p. 5.15

2. Not enough agricultural income (20%)
3. For better pay (about 16%)
4. Other reasons such as better conditions, better prospect, etc.

Thus the push factors from Lesotho (inability to get a job and not enough agricultural income) played a far important role in labour migration than the pull factors in South Africa (better pay, better conditions and better prospects).

Population Distribution and Internal Migration

The major factors which influence population distribution in Lesotho include ecological, economic and administrative factors. The lowlands and the river valley whose agricultural potential is higher than that of the Foothills and Mountains, have tended to attract higher concentrations of population settlements. Thus in the county as a whole population settlements have tended to favour the North-western and western parts where the lowlands are found. Population densities in these areas are above 175 persons per sq. km. The population is relatively more evenly distributed in the districts of Leribe, Berea, Maseru, and Mafeteng which include the North-western and western lowlands, than in Mokhotlong, Qacha's Nek, Mohale's Hoek, Butha-Buthe and Quthing. Districts such as Mafeteng and Berea with least components of the mountain zone and more suitable for cultivation exhibit the highest densities, while districts such as Qacha's Nek and Mokhotlong which have the highest components of the mountain zone have the lowest densities, far below the national average (see Table 6).

Of the total land area of Lesotho, only 13% is classified as arable land. By district the proportion of arable land ranges from a low of 4% in Mokhotlong to a high of 41% in Mafeteng. Therefore despite the overall low densities in districts with a high component of mountain zone, the pressure on arable land is greatest in the same districts due to scarcity of land suitable for cultivation (see Table 6).

Table 6

Percentage of de jure population, density (per sq. km) and density (per sq. km. of arable land) by District: 1966 and 1976

District[1]	Census Year						Arable Land
	1966			1976			
	Per-cent	Density[2]	Density[3]	Per-cent	Density[2]	Density[3]	%
Mafeteng	12.3	57	141	12.7	74	183	41
Berea	12.2	56	250	12.0	70	309	22
Leribe	16.7	50	254	17.0	64	325	19
Maseru	20.8	34	278	21.2	43	356	12
Mohale's Hoek	11.3	32	231	11.2	40	286	13
Butha-Buthe	6.5	31	559	6.3	38	683	6
Quthing	7.5	24	329	7.3	30	400	8
Qacha's Nek	6.5	16	331	6.3	19	403	5
Mokhotlong	6.2	13	325	6.0	16	397	4
Lesotho	100	32	251	100	40	315	13

1. Ranked according to density per sq. km. in 1966
2. Density per sq. km.
3. Density per sq. km. of arable land

Source: 1976 population census, Vol. IV, p. 4.2.

Though with limitations, available information indicates that the district of Quthing had the highest percentage of the population born in it, while the district of Maseru had the lowest percentage of the population born in it (Table 7). The same districts also experienced the highest out- and in-migration streams respectively. In all migration streams, females are more frequently enumerated outside their districts of birth than males. This is possibly due to marriage and the fact that with the absence of males (who migrate to South Africa) females increasingly engage in internal labour migration in search of more remunerative employment to enable them to support the family.

Overall, the districts of Maseru, Leribe and Berea gained the largest number of life migrants, while Quthing and Mafeteng were the highest losers of migrants (Table 8). A total of 38,319 males and 71,985 females (about 2 females for every 1 male) were internal migrants (about 1 person out of ten according to the 1976 census). Nationally this is not a large percentage to cause immediate concern to planners and policy makers, but when it is noted that about one third of the migrants move to Maseru district and most likely to Maseru urban area, a great deal of concern is expressed. This explains the rapid rates of urbanization, especially for Maseru, Morija and Roma urban complex, shown in Table 9.

The data collected in the census was based on place of birth and place of residence on date of enumeration, taking the district as the lowest unit of analysis.[18] There was no information for analysing the causes and consequencies of migration. On the other hand, the 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey yielded information which may be limited by sample size and covers only persons aged 14 years and above rather than the total population, but which enables analysis at lower levels than at the district level. However, like in the census, only the place of birth and place of present residence were

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18. Only life time migration is recorded but even in this case those who moved from and went back to their districts of birth before the survey were not recorded as migrants. In addition the number of migration movements and places of migration cannot all be captured by this type of information.

Table 7 Percentage of those enumerated in a district by district of birth and sex

ENUME-RATED/ BORN		BUTHA-BUTHE	LERIBE	BEREA	MASERU	MAFETENG	MOHALE'S HOEK	QUTHING	QACHA'S NEK	MOKHOTLONG
BUTHA-BUTHE	M	93.31	1.42	.29	.38	.13	.06	.05	.06	.77
	F	91.22	2.50	.51	.35	.09	.07	.05	.09	.67
LERIBE	M	2.90	92.98	2.94	1.46	.26	.25	.07	.27	1.58
	F	4.95	88.97	5.71	1.81	.41	.36	.10	.50	1.86
BEREA	M	.49	2.43	90.47	2.40	.32	.17	.10	.18	.33
	F	.55	4.18	85.07	3.09	.36	.24	.09	.21	.29
MASERU	M	.95	1.41	4.80	87.82	5.73	2.05	.56	1.93	1.30
	F	.99	2.07	6.59	83.97	8.64	2.90	.72	2.57	1.28
MAFETENG	M	.19	.24	.47	3.56	90.12	2.55	.23	.20	.26
	F	.20	.34	.70	5.36	84.71	3.79	.40	.32	.21
MOHALE'S HOEK	M	.22	.22	.35	2.12	2.70	91.67	1.02	.94	.46
	F	.15	.23	.46	2.60	4.75	87.91	2.17	1.54	.41
QUTHING	M	.21	.14	.19	.91	.49	2.32	96.79	1.24	.52
	F	.16	.21	.26	1.08	.67	3.46	94.95	2.01	.56
QACHA'S NEK	M	.24	.35	.21	.89	.17	.84	1.10	93.77	1.16
	F	.27	.48	.34	1.04	.24	1.12	1.40	91.25	2.04
MOKHOT-LONG	M	1.49	.80	.27	.46	.08	.10	.08	1.40	93.61
	F	1.49	1.02	.35	.50	.12	.13	.12	1.46	92.67

Source: 1976 Population Census, p. 4.6

Table 8

Inter district net life time migration streams by sex

FROM / TO		BUTHA-BUTHE	LERIBE	BEREA	MASERU	MAFETENG	MOHALE'S HOEK	QUTHING	QACHA'S NEK	MOKHOTLONG	IN	OUT	NET
BUTHA-BUTHE	M	-	- 245	- 18	- 147	- 9	34	44	47	186	1844	1952	- 108
	F	-	- 664	-155	- 146	14	8	37	65	291	3150	3700	- 550
LERIBE	M	245	-	256	- 554	54	47	82	181	132	5159	4716	443
	F	664	-	133	- 535	87	0	165	283	317	10789	9675	1114
BEREA	M	18	- 256	-	- 115	101	103	66	59	43	4954	4935	19
	F	155	- 133	-	192	263	168	140	148	138	10350	9279	1071
MASERU	M	147	554	115	-	1251	1340	814	431	119	13259	8488	4771
	F	146	535	-192	-	2338	2147	1220	531	238	22717	15754	6963
MAFETENG	M	9	- 54	-101	-1251	-	29	150	21	- 38	4530	5765	-1235
	F	-14	- 87	-263	-2338	-	516	229	29	0	9311	11239	-1928
MOHALE'S HOEK	M	-34	- 47	-103	-1340	- 29	-	765	137	- 85	3941	4677	- 736
	F	- 8	0	-168	-2147	- 516	-	1212	141	- 65	7578	9129	-1551
QUTHING	M	-44	- 82	- 66	- 814	- 150	- 765	-	13	-127	1042	3077	-2035
	F	-37	-165	-140	-1220	- 229	-1212	-	-108	-108	2238	5498	-3260
QACHA'S NEK	M	-47	-181	- 59	- 431	- 21	-137	- 13	-	52	1734	2571	- 837
	F	-65	-283	-148	- 531	- 29	-141	108	-	-215	3180	4484	-1304
MOKHOTLONG	M	-186	-132	- 43	- 119	38	85	127	- 52	-	1856	2138	- 282
	F	-291	-317	-138	- 238	0	65	149	215	-	2672	3227	- 555

Table 9

Urban Population by Urban Centre in 1966 and 1976

DISTRICT	URBAN CENTRE	POPULATION IN 1966	POPULATION IN 1976	PERCENT ANNUAL GROWIH RATE
BUTHA-BUTHE	BUTHA-BUTHE	5656	7472	2.8
LERIBE	HLOTSE	4135	6297	4.2
LERIBE	MAPUTSOE	(11333)*	15823	3.3
LERIBE	PEKA	3694	4577	2.1
BEREA	TEYATEYANENG	6687	8589	2.5
MASERU	MASERU	28333	55031	6.6
"	MORIJA	2482	4915	6.8
"	ROMA	2965	5668	6.5
"	THABA-TSEKA	(2996)*	4427	3.9
MAFETENG	MAFETENG	5715	8278	3.7
MOHALE'S HOEK	MOHALE'S HOEK	3971	5276	2.8
QUTHING	MOYENI	3650	3528	- 0.3
QACHA'S NEK	QACHA'S NEK	3275	4837	3.9
MOKHOTLONG	MOKHOTLONG	1051	1484	3.4
LESOTHO	T O T A L	71,614*	136,202	6.4

* These figures have not been added in the total because the population of Maputsoe and Thaba-Tseka were rural in 1966.

Source: 1976 Population census, p. 4.12

used to determine migration status.[19]

The 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey confirms further that interdistrict migration was much higher in the lowlands and much less in other zones. The lowlands and, to a certain extent, the Foothills attract migrants from the mountains because the former have better amenities and more opportunities of employment than the latter. In addition, the lowlands serve as transitional places of migration for individuals from the mountains intending to migrate outside Lesotho. The female rates were much higher than those for males (Table 10). As already noted, this is due to the volume of male migration outside the country, leaving females to carry out different socio-economic activities normally carried out by males. In addition within district migration may involve females more than males since they move to their husbands' villages on marriage.

In conclusion, available information indicates an exodus of able-bodied males outside the country, and sizeable internal migration from rural to urban areas and from the mountains to the lowlands and foothills. It is possible that these movements hamper rural and national development. But in order to determine their exact impact, it is necessary to carry out studies on the consequencies of these movements on the economy and society of Lesotho. Findings from these studies will be important inputs to planning and policy making.

UTILITY OF AVAILABLE INFORMATION FOR PLANNING AND POLICY MAKING

All government planning and policy making activities should be aimed at the people. For example if the plan and policies aim at providing

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19. One other major difference between the census and the survey is the reference period for inclusion and exclusion of members of household. One week of absence was used to exclude absentees within Lesotho, and a one month criterion was used to include visitors in the Labour Force and Migration Survey.

Table 10

Percentage Distribution of Survey Population by place of Birth, Sex and Zone, 1977

Zone	Same Village		Different Village But Same District		Different District		Outside Lesotho		T O T A L	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Lesotho	74	34	14	44	4	16	4	6	100	100
Lowland	70	30	15	42	10	18	5	7	100	100
Foothill	76	33	16	48	5	14	3	5	100	100
Mountains	80	39	11	44	6	13	2	4	100	100
Senqu Valley	79	33	12	46	4	16	5	5	100	100

Source: 1978 Labour Force and MIgration Survey, Table 7.2

educational facilities, health facilities and services, food, clean water supply and housing, the government will need to know how many people there are, where they live, their sex and age composition, etc. In other words, it will need to be well informed about the population it is planning for, and since planning is for future purposes, the government will need to know how many more people there will be in the future, where they will live, their sex and age composition etc.

In order to estimate future population and its characteristics, information on the past and current situation of the population is very important. This is the major reason why governments bear the enormous expenses of carrying out national censuses. Then information on births, deaths and peoples movements can help the planner to know the likely changes that will take place to affect future population.

Thus apart from knowing past and current sizes of the population, places of residence of the population, sex and age composition of the population, etc., it is important to have detailed information on the three basic demographic variables, namely births (fertility), deaths (mortality) and people's movements (migration) to assist the planner to forecast future changes in the population. The information should contain details with regard to socio-economic, physical and other differences so that the government can be guided in making appropriate policies aimed at desired changes in the three basic demographic variables that will bring about changes in the size and composition of population and make it compatible with the national capacity to bring about socio-economic development.

In the case of Lesotho, relatively reliable information on the size and composition of the population has been provided by the 1966 and 1976 population censuses. Some information on fertility, mortality and migration has also been provided by these censuses and supplemented by the 1967/68 Rural Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey, the 1971/73 Lesotho Demographic Survey, the 1977 Fertility Survey and the 1978 Labour Force and Migration Survey. What

is lacking, however, is adequate information on fertility, mortality and migration differentials to assist the government to determine with reasonable confidence the likely factors that will bring about changes in these variables in the future. Moreover, fertility and mortality estimates are still based on somewhat defective data, whose reliability should increase with more practice in data collection and estimation. This calls for more demographic surveys and analysis of data from the surveys.

RESEARCH AGENDA

Research in the following areas should be regarded as a priority:

1. Causes of variations in mortality and fertility. This may include a study of:-

   (i) Childlessness, pregnancy wastage and infertility in some parts of the country;

   (ii) Breastfeeding, abstinence and child spacing practices in relation to child survival;

   (iii) Changes in the value of children, attitudes towards and practice of modern child spacing methods and the effects of decision-making by couples on family size;

   (iv) Traditional methods of family life education and changes brought about by socio-economic change;

   (v) The relationship between fertility and infant and child mortality.

2. Causes and consequencies of internal and international migration. This may include a study of:-

   (i) Causes of migration;

(ii) Socio-economic and demographic consequencies of emigration on the family;

(iii) Socio-economic and demographic consequencies of emigration on Lesotho;

(iv) Socio-economic and demographic consequencies of internal migration;

(v) Female migration and participation in development activities in Lesotho.

Findings from such studies will assist the government to

(a) identify the determinants of fertility in Lesotho and make appropriate policies to bring about desired changes;

(b) identify health patterns and design appropriate health and related policies such as those on water supply and functional education to counteract undesirable trends;

(c) promote better understanding of the complex interrelationships between women and development in order to utilize their potential effectively in the development process;

(d) determine the causes and consequencies of migration and make policies to counteract its undesirable trends;

(e) assess the impact of development on social trends and patterns of the determinants of population dynamics and measure costs and benefits of the development process at the family level.

CONCLUSION

The fact that the government of Lesotho has devoted heavy expenditures and effort to the collection of demographic data, especially since 1966 shows that it attaches great importance to the availability of population data. It is however, doubtful whether the data collected in the past has yielded maximum benefits to the government. For the 1966 and earlier censuses limited data was published and little analysis was carried out. The 1976 census enjoyed relatively more analysis and publication but it, too, lacked detailed analysis of socio-economic phenomenon related to population factors. Estimation of demographic factors took more than a lion's share of the analysis. Further analysis of available data is therefore necessary. There is a need for a collaborative role between the National University of Lesotho and the Bureau of Statistics as well as other government departments in the analysis of available demographic data so that maximum returns can be acquired from it. Emphasis on multidisciplinary studies to enable planners and policy makers understand population factors and related socio-economic phenomena in their entirety should be taken as a priority.